846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[889] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the
[301] other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Polygyny. Max Heinan stated that "Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe. Vielweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heinan 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ʔa·ʔi/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Vicho from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ʔa·ʔi/ asked

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why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced to twenty lashes each.

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About a year after the death of Cristobal's first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an attempt to find out who had killed his father. The Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and his death was said to have been caused by the witch hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in Vicha where he also has two wives. He has never been punished as he never goes to the ceremonial center for fiestas.

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In the space of certainly not more than a decade the above case is found in at least one alternate version:

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Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up the Río Esmeraldas and was married to the daughter of Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking for another wife near San José on the Río Cayapas. He had divorced his first wife and her father was very angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken divorce action because this woman did not work or cook well. He also complained that she was older than he and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his father. About a year later, the old man did indeed die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife went to Santo Domingo de los Colorados and found a Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two hundred and fifty sucres the witch offered to kill Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about four months later. The affair ended at this point with no attempts at revenge.

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While there are differences in names and locations and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Vichu to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Vichu up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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sending of a commission too expensive.

Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy. Rosendo was tried by the late [Lic.] Arcilio. He responded to Arcilio's statement that "Jesus never ordered man to have two wives" by saying that the devil told him to get a second wife. He also pointed out that he was a very rich man and could well afford to maintain two women and that he needed two wives to help him cultivate all of his banana fields. Fifty lashes were ordered, but Rosendo protested and he was only given twenty lashes. Because of the reduction in the number of lashes, he was fined thirty sucres. [It is also said that he threatened to kill one of the officials before being sentenced.] The woman received fifty lashes and that same day was given to a man from Rosalia Grande. Later that day, the woman and her new husband were overtaken by Rosendo at San Antonio just a few miles above Punta Verde. Rosendo told the groom that he was the woman's husband, that he had been drunk and had never ordered her sent away. The man from Rosalia Grande "was somewhat stupid," and handed her over. That night, Rosendo and his wife slipped down the river past

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Punta Venado and went up the Río Onzole. They were never punished again.

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty sucres. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished."

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This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to Encanto to visit with the mother of the Cisarrón brothers. She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons. She had come up from the Río Onzole alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a brujo. For this, she felt that she needed one hundred sucres, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cisarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

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the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

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The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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Renando loses his right and his second wife in a fight. Renando Añapa lives in Cojimíes. He had three sons by his wife. One day a man from the San Miguel section came down with his daughter to work, and moved into Renando's house. [No information was available as to names and possible relationships.] Renando began making love to the man's daughter, and finally he declared her to be his second wife. They lived thus for about five months. Eventually, during a party held just for visiting, where only guitars and not the traditional Cayapa instruments gave the musical background, Perdomo, a visiting official from the Sapallo Grande section, spoke to him about the affair. Renando became annoyed and accused Perdomo of committing adultery with his sister-in law, making him as much a sinner as himself. The upshot of this incident was that Perdomo ordered that Renando and his second wife receive one hundred lashes each. Soon after the punishment, the two men came to blows. After the party, Renando, his two wives, and the father of the second wife left for Quinendé, a long distance off into the interior. There they went to the house of a 'cousin' of the second wife. Renando and the cousin fought about the polygynous

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marriage, and the cousin aided by another man, soundly trounced Renando. After this, they sent the second wife to another Cayapa in Quinendé. That same day Renando and his first wife left to return to Cojimíes.

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The party held "for visiting" is worth noting because Cayapa never just visit among themselves. A new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where groups of unrelated Cayapa are brought together in a live-work arrangement that is quite foreign to the traditional patterns. "Guitars formed the musical background"--an indicator of the newly developing situation. It must also be noted that Renando was a member of the Punta Venado and the official who ordered him whipped was from the Sapallo Grande section, and the second wife, who was also whipped, was from the San Miguel section. The official did not have the second wife sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were no single men locally available for her. Renando was not able to keep the second wife simply because he was not strong enough to do so. It is becoming abundantly clear that the Cayapa cannot come to grips with a determined wrong-doer. The following case illustrates this in terms of polygyny.

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Cristobal marries his second wife in the Church. Cristobal Tapullo of Muisne had two wives. The first one only had one live birth, a daughter. The second wife is Carmelina de la Cruz from Sapallo Grande, and it is said that he married her in the Church. Carmelina knew that Cristobal was married when she went to him for the first time. The two wives were very angry with each other, but they never used more than verbal abuse, and Cristobal never attempted to interfere in their quarrels. Cristobal had gone to fiestas with both wives, but nothing was ever done about it, because he had married the second wife in the Church. Cristobal's /apín^{y}a/, 'brother's son,' Segundo Tapullo, also had two wives. He lived in Muisne in his own house. About six months after his first wife came to live with him, he went to a fiesta at Sapallo Grande to look for a second wife. He told the /ún^{y}i/ that he was not married [in point of fact, he had not married his first wife in the Church], and that he wanted a wife. A wife was found for him, and he took her back to Muisne. When the second wife saw the first wife, she was very angry and wanted to return home, but she could not do so as the distance was too great. People wanted her to go to

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Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish."

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Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta.

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The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls

events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

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Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist. Roberto Cimarrón, a brujo, had two wives. They lived a short distance above San José on the Río Cayapas. The women lived in separate houses several hundred feet apart connected by a small path. One day Roberto became intoxicated while he was curing a patient, and his first wife, who also was drunk, scolded him for having taken a second wife. Roberto had also married the second wife in the Church. He and his first wife came to blows, and Roberto eventually threw her into the river from which she was rescued by a passing Negro. Later, when sober, she went over to the second wife's house and assaulted her. In turn, after this attack the children of the second wife assailed the childless first wife. Roberto hid the second wife in the home of a Negro for about two weeks. His first wife knew what was happening and she was very angry. Eventually, Roberto moved the first wife into a small nearby rancho. The family of the first wife never complained, but the father of Romulo Añapa who was not related to any of the principles said that if Roberto did not get rid of the second wife, he himself would beat him up. Later, when inebriated, Roberto came over to the house of Romulo's

father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

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The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

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Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /cá·tala/ from the Río Camerones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at Punta Venado during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a fiesta.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /ún^{y}i/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the Río Onzole. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Rosenda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to de jure acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /ún^{y}i/ cannot condone sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

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For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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596 EXTENDED FAMILIES--incidence of extended families; prevailing type or types (e.g., matrilocal, avunculocal, patrilocal, and bilocal extended families, fraternal joint families); size and composition; domicile (e.g., compound, single large dwelling); locus of authority; rule of succession (e.g., matrilineal, patrilineal, succession by a younger sibling); collective or individual ownership of dwelling, land, food stores, and household equipment; economic cooperation; routine activities; collective responsibility; cohesive and fissive tendencies; etc. See also:

Property and inheritance 42
Kin relationships 602
Lineages 613
Clans 618
Collective liability 672
Ancestor worship 769

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente politico, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

position. She generally controls the finances and is consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is on hand to count the money. During fiestas she doles out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk, whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly. A man and his wife work the fields together and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem to be in agreement on most things that involve the house and their children. When a child is punished he never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent. Children were never seen playing one parent off against the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they are treated with respect by their children and grandchildren. The grandchildren often call them 'father' and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In

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597 ADOPTION--extent to which children are adopted or exchanged, motives and procedure, status of adopted children, reciprocal relations of adoptive parents and adopted children, relations between adoptive siblings; special types of adoption (e.g., adoption of adults, posthumous adoption; ceremonial adoption); etc. See also:

Guardianship . . . . . 438[D]
Adoption of slaves 861
Artificial kin relationships 910
Adoption of captives 727
Care of orphans 736
Parentage 880
Status of children 888

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Canyomaso there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

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Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance: however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Miltón where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,